d upon, nay, orced to submit to, to-morrow. GROWING ABUSES OF POWER DREADED.

Senators! We have arrived at a crisis. I will not conceal that I cannot contemplate that crisis without grave apprehension, for what has happened aiready makes me look forward with anxlety to what may still be in store for us. We are evidently on a downward slope, and the question is where we shall land. It is not the success of Napoleonic ambitions in this country that I fear; for If they existed they would still find in America not a French people to deal with; but what I do have reason to fear, if we continue on in that course, is this-that our time-honored constitutional principles will be gradually obliterated by repeated abuses of power establishing themselves as pre-cedents; that the machinery of administration may become more and more a mere instrument of ring rule, a tool to manufacture majorities and to organize plunder; that in the hollow shell of republican forms the government will become the mere football of rapacious and despotic factions.

THE SOUTHERN POLICY REVIEWED. I have long considered our policy concerning the South as one traught with great danger-not only danger to the South but to the whole Republic. I have, therefore, opposed it step by step warned you of its inevitable consequences. I know that Southern society has been, and in a measure is, disturbed by violent tendencies and grave disorders. I have never denied it, and body has more carnestly condemned and denounced the acts of violence which happen than Those disorders I would be the last man now to palliate or excuse; but I also believed that they were, in a great measure, the offspring of sircumstances and to be expected. When denly, amid general distress and con-fusion, transformed the whole organization of Southern society. Not only was that system of lapor uprooted with which the Southern people had for centuries considered their whole productive wealth and prosperity identified, but by the enfranchisement of the negro that class of society which had just emerged from slavery with all ignorance-ignorance for which, I readily admit, it was not responsible-was suddenly clothed with political power-in some States an overwhelming power; that power was exerted at a time when, siter the sweeping destruction of the war, the South was most in need of a wise co-operation of all its social forces to heal its wounds and to lift itself up from its terrible prostration. The justice of the constitutional amendments, designed to secure to the slave his freedom and to enable the colored people to maintain their rights through active participation in the functions of self-government, I shall surely not question; neither is it the legitimate subject of this debate.

A GREAT PROBLEM. But as all these tremendous transformations tame at a time when the turbulence of armed condicts had nearly subsided; when ancient preincices had not yet cooled; when the bitterness of the war was still iresh; when the hope of other solutions was still lingering, it was deplorable indeed, but not at all surprising, that grave disorders should have happened. No such changes have ever in a free country happened without them; and it was the business of statesmanship to deal with them. It was a great problem, and perhaps the most critical in the history of the country; for it was to ovecome resistance and disturbance without developing an arbitrary spirit of power dangerous to free government. There were two methods presenting themselves to you. One was suggested by the very nature of the republican institutions. It was to treat the discovery and development of the remedies for existing evils as soon as the nature of the circumstances would permit. It was that agency upon which, after all, our republican government must rely for its vitality-the self-government of the people in the States. It was to inspire that local self-government with healthy tendencies by doing all in your power to make the Southern people-not only those who had profited by the social revolution in obtaining their edom and citizenship, but also those who suffered by it-reasonably contented with their new situation. Such a policy required an early and complete removal of all those political disabilities which restrained a large and inauential number of white people from all direct participation in the government of their affairs, thile the colored people were exercising it. That policy did, ingeed, not preclude the vigorous execution of constitutional and just laws, and you will not understand me as thus designating all the laws that were made, but it did not preclude the employment of the powers conferred by such laws for purposes of a partisan color, which impeached the impartiality of the national government and thus injured its moral authority. It did preclude above all things every

UNCONSTITUTIONAL STRETCH OF INTERPRENCE. which, by an assidnous example, is always calenrevolutionary spirit among all classes of society. That policy required that the national government. in all its branches, should have sternly discountenanced the adventurers and blood-suckers who preyed upon the Southern people, so as not to appear as their protectors and allies. It required a conscientious employment of those moral influences which the national government had at its command. It was not that, in the distress and confusion which followed the war, the Southern people, white and black, should have turned their eyes to the national government for ald and guidance-that aid and guidance might have been given, not in impeding and baffling, but in encouraging self-government, and to follow its highest aims and duties. Every lederal office in the South should have been carefully filled with the wisest and best men that could be found. Now here was the personal character of the officer of higher importance; for, being clothed by his very connection with the national government with extraordinary moral authority. every one of them could, without undue interterence with local concerns, by the very power of his example, make that moral influence most beneficially felt in his surroundings. TRUE RECONSTRUCTION.

I am not sanguine enough to believe that had such a policy been tollowed local self-government would at once have made every Southern State a perfect model of peace and order. I know it would not; but it is my solemn conviction it would have been infinitely more productive of good; it would have been infinitely more efficient in gradually developing a satisfactory state of things than all your force laws, than all the efforts of goverament officers to maintain their party ascendancy and all the usurping acts of military interference in the same direction. And, above all things, such a policy would have lest those principles intact which give life to constitutional government. It would have spared us such an appalling aspect as that which to-day we are beholding in Louisiana. It would have relieved the American people of the anxious inquiry. What is now to become of their government? It was the policy naturally suggested by the genius of our institutions-the true policy of republican America. But there presented itself also another method of dealing with the violent and disorderly tendencies in the South. It was whenever or wherever a disturnance occurred to use brute force to suppress it, to employ every means to keep in every State roar pardsans in place and to trample down all opposition, no matter what stretch of power it might require, no matter what constitutional restriction of authority might have to be broken through, and such a method, if supported by a military force sufficiently strong, may also be made quite effective, for a time at least, Thus you might have brought every malefactor in the South to swift punishment. Wherever three of your opponents met you might have styled it an unlawful combination of banditti and bave had the offenders arrested; you might have maintained in governmental power in the South whomsoever you liked; you might have made EVERY COLORED MAN PERFECTLY SAFE.

not only in the exercise of his frunchise, but in everything else; you might have struck with made the national government so strong that nothing could resist it. That is also an effective method to keep peace and order, and works admirably so long as it lasts. It is employed with re-

day and who of you can tell me what we shall be | markable success in Russia, and may be in sevsecured the safety of those who were disturbed or in danger, what would have become of the liberty and rights of all of us? The method would have stroke of irony to call the United States any longer

DANGEROUS CENTRALIZATION LAWS. I do not mean to insinuate that you wanted to do this. I know you did not. You did not intend to employ such means, and you would have re-coiled from such a result. You tried a middle course; you respected the self-government of the States in point of form; but, while you and the Executive omitted to use those moral influences which would have inspired that self-government with healthy tendencies, you passed laws confer-ring upon the national government dangerous powers of very doubt'ul constitutionality-at least

so I thought, and opposed them.

The effect was most deplorable in several ways. Your partisans in the Southern States, and among the most greedy and corrupt of the kind. began to look upon Congress and the National Executive as their natural allies and sworn protectors; bound to sustain them in power by whatever means. Every vagabond in the South calling himself a republican thought himself entitled to aid from you when rushing on to Congress with an outrage story. The colored people began to think that you were bound to protect them in upon a precedent and an honest use of their own political rights to establish their position.

MILITARY OUTRAGES SOUTH,
The federal office-holders in the South became more than ever the centres of partisan intrigue and trickery. The Caseys and Packards carried off State Senators on a United States revenue cutter and shut up a republican Governor in the Custom House, guarded by United States soldiers, to keep out another republican faction. Nay, more than that, the same Packard, during the last election campaign in Louisiana, being at the same time United States Marshal and Chairman of the Campaign Committee of the Kellogg party, managed not only the political campaign, but also the movement of the United States troops "to enforce the laws," to keep his political opponents from intimidating his political iriends. But more than that :- In one State after another we see enterprising politicians start rival Legislatures much in the way of Mexican pronunciamentoes; and rival governments, calculating upon the aid they may get from the national government; and the Astorney General of the United States called upon to make or unmake State governments with the wave of his hand; and the Department of Justice at most appearing like a central bureau for the regulation of State elections; and still more than that, a federal judge in Louisiana, by a midnight order, universally recognized as a gross and most unjustifiable usurpation, virtually making a State Governor and Legislature, the National Executive, with the army, sustaining toat usurpation, and Congress permitting it to be done. And now

THE CULMINATING GLOBY: federal soldiers, with fixed bayonets, marching into the legislative hall of a State, dragging out by force the men universally recognized as claimants for membership and having been seated; soldiers deciding a contested election case and organizing a legislative body; the Lieutenant General suggesting to the President to outlaw by proclamation a numerous class of people by wholesaie, that he may try them by military commission, and then the Secretary of War informing the Lieutenant General by telegraph that the government has full confidence in his wisdom. And beyond this, the whites of the South gradually driven to look upon the national government as their implacable and unscrupulous enemy, and the people of the whole country .ull of slarm and anxiety about the safety of republican institutions and the rights of every man in the land. Ah, Senators, you did not mean this, I trust! But there is not a single one of these things has happened without exciting in you an emotion of anxiety and the wish that nothing similar should come again. But you have followed step by step reluctantly-reluctantly, perhaps, but you did follow. Now you know not where you may have to go, unless here you make a stand. You meant only to protect colored men in their rights, and to this end to keep your friends in power. You did not mean to do it by

THE RUSSIAN METHOD; but from small beginnings something has grown up of near kin to it—a few steps further and yow may have the whole. If you do not want to go on, then I say to you it is the highest time to turn back. It will not do to permit such things as we now behold to pass without rebuke and resistance, for to permit them is to urge them on. I have heard it said that he who justifies murder in the South is the accomplice of the marderer. Be it so: but consider also that he who in a place like ours fails to stop or even justifies a blow at the lundamental law of the land, makes himself the accomplice of those who strike at the life of the republican liberty of the people. Above all things in-dulge in no delusion about the consequences of your doings. Be bold enough to look the great question in the face.

IS REPUBLICANISM A FAILURE If you really think that the peace and order of society are no longer to be maintained through the seli-government of the people under the constitution and the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws-that this old machinery of free government can no longer be trusted with its most important functions, and that such trans-

stitution and the importial enforcement of constitutional laws—that this old machinery of free government can no longer be trusted with its most important functions, and that such transgressions on the part of those in power as now pass before us are right and necessary for the public wellare—then admit that this government of the people, for the people and by the people is a miscarringe. Let the hundredth anniversary of the Republic be the confession of its failure, and make up your minds to change the form as well as the nature of our institutions. To play at republic would then be a mockery. But do not deliane yourselves and others with the thought that by joliowing this four load you can still preserve those institutions where the forms of constitutional government can be violated with impanity. The spirit of constitutional government mill soon be dead. Who does not know that republics with be sometimes the theatres of continuon, distundance and violent transgressions—more frequently, perhaps, than monarconies government will soon be dead. Who does not know that republics in the pass of the properties have to pay some price for the great boon of their constitutional ilberty.

In EMEDIES FOR DISORDERS IN A REPUBLIC.

But do we not also know that in republics remedies for cvils can be found in entire consonance with the spirit and form of republican institutions is that statesmanship which, to some remedies can be found and effectively applied. But published the publishments and congress to the publishment of constitutional principles and forms will endager the lives and property and rights of the cliuzens, and so it is found and effectively applied. But so does not the first duties of a government to protect the lives an iproperty and rights of the cliuzens, and so it is found as a domestication of the constitutions which will in the end place the lives and property and rights of the cliuzens, and so its found as a second to the first duties of a government to protect the lives an iproperty and rights of the

conservatives of that State should obtain the control of the government no negro would be sale and the streets and fields would run with blood. So it was with North Carolina, so with Georgia, and indeed there was much lamentable disorder occurring in those States during the first years after the war. What was the rem-dy? You remember what policy was ur.ed with regard to Georgia. It was to prolong the existence of Governor Bullock's Legislature for two years beyond its constitutional term to strengthen the power of Governor Bullock, the champion plunderer of Georgia, and who not long after had to run away to escape the clutches of justice, and unless that were done the Senator from Indiana predicted a carnival of murder and streams of bood. Well, it was not done; the people of those States gradually recovered the free exercise of self-government, and what was the result? Virginia is to-day as quiet and orderly a State as she ever was—as my o her, in fact—and every citizen is securely enjoying his rights. And who will deay that in North Carolina and Georgia an improvement has taken place, standing in most glaring contrast to the learnil predictions made by the advocates of lederal interference? And that most happy improvement is sustained in those States under and by the self-government of the people, as society becomes more firmly settled in its new condition and is by necessity led to recognize more clearly the dependency of its dearest interests on the maintenance of public order and salety. That is the natural development of the liber in the same and the same and

order and salest.
of things,
DECREARE OF THE COLORED REPUBLICAN YOTE.
It will help the Senator from Indiana a little
say that the republican yore has generally init
off in Georgia, and that this fact is conclusive pri say that the republican vote has generally lailen off in Georgia, and that this fact is conclusive proof of a general system of in-imidation practised upon the necroes. It is scarcely needed to repeat here the unquestionably truthul statement which has been made and proved, that the falling off of the colored vote was in great measure accounted for by the non-payment on the part of the colored people of the school tax, on the payment of which their vote depended. But I will say there was a falling off in the republican vote in a great many states last fall for some cause, not only in the South but in the North, and the cause which operated on the whites, may it not operate on the blacks? What kind of logic, what kind of statesmanship is it, which, as we have withnessed so irrequently on this floor, takes the statistics of population of a State and then proceeds to reason thus—so many colored and so many white voies, therefore so many republican votes and so many denocratic votes, and if an election does not show them in that proportion it must be the result of iraud and intimidation, and the national government must interier? When we have established the rule that election returns must be made or corrected according to the statistics of population, then we may deed elections beforenand by the United States census or last year's simanac and dispense with the trouble of voting.

Intimidation of voters! I down to the the second

INTIMIDATION ON THE RADICAL SIDE.

INTIMIDATION ON THE RADICAL SIDE.

INTIMIDATION ON THE RADICAL SIDE.

Intimidation of voters! I douct not there has been much of it. There has been much of it by terrorism, by the discharge of laborers from employment, but not on one side alone. I shall be the last man on earth to say a word of excuse for the Southern ruffing who threatens a negro voter with violence. I know no language too severe to condemn him. But I cannot orget that the only act of terrorism and intimidation I ever happened to watness with my own eyes was the cruel clubbing and stoning of a colored man in North Carolina in 1872 by men of his own race because he had declared for the conservatives; and if the who estory of the South were told it would be discovered that such a practice has not been unfrequent.

I cannot forget the speciacle of Marshal Packard, with the dragnoms of the United States at the disposition of the chairman of the Kellogy campaign committee, at the late election riding through the State with a full assortment of warranis to arrest men by the wholesale.

FEDERAL EXAMPLE OF VIOLATION OF THE ENFORCEmen by the wholesale.
FEDERAL EXAMPLE OF VIOLATION OF THE ENFORCE-

State with a full assortment of warrants to arrest men by the wholesale.

FEDERAL EXAMPLE OF VIOLATION OF THE ENFORCEMENT LAW.

I cannot forget that, as to the discharge of laborers from employment for political cause, a most seductive and demoralizing example is set by the highest authority in the land. While we have a law on our statute book imposing a pensity for the intimication of voters by threatened or ac ual discharge from employment, it is the notorious practice of your government to discharge every one of its employes who dares to oppose the administration party, and that is done North and South and East and West, wherever the arm of the government reaches. I have always condemned every species of intimidation interlering with the freedom of political action, and, therefore, I am for a genuine civil service reform. But, while your hattonal government is the champion intimidator in the land, you must not be surprised if partisans on an sides profit from its reachings; nor do! think that the intimidation which deters a colored man from voting with the opposition is less detestable or less harmini to him than that which threatehs him as a republican. I shall sail the day as a most auspicious one for the colored race in the South when they cease to stand as a solid mass under the control and discipline of one political organization; thus being arrayed as a race against a race; when they throw off the scandaious leadership of those adventurers who, taking advantage of their ignorance, make them the tools of tyrannical rapacity and throw upon them the odium of their misdeeds; when they begin to see the intentity of their own true interests with those of the white people among whom they have to give when they begin to understand that they greatly injure those common interests by using their political power for the civate the meters of the colored race in the first white hope of the colored party a chance to obtain their votes between the different political power for the civate she will not make the refer to

not some of you even willing to see the most ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERN-MENT INVADED, to see a State government set up by judicial naurpation, it is easy to easy the colored man may be saie? You can have it much cheaper by the method I advise. The colored man may be saie? You can have it much cheaper by the method I advise. The colored man will be saier then than under a broken constitution. The peace and order of society will be more naturally and securely established than under the fiful interference of military force; and that can be done by permitting self-government to have its course. But the republican vote may fall off; the party may suffer; insteed 12 may. But, sir, I know no party wonstever its name or fame so sacred that its selish advantage should be considered superior to the peace and order of society and good understanding among the people. I do not bestate to say that I preier the conservative government of Virginia to the republican government of Louisiana. If I mistake not a vast majority of the American people are of the same opinion. I ask. What would you have maded of Georgia had you forced upon 12s neck, assumed to be destred by some, the voke of the Builocks and Foster Blodgeits? What would you have maded of Virginia and North Carolina if a lederal judge, by an act of usurpation like Dureil's, had created a republican State government there, or the President had endorsed these with the bayonets of the army? Wheere now you see the steady growth of peace and order, and a fruitiul co-operation of the social elements there would be bloody conflicts of inturiated factions, society torn to pieces by deadly leuds and a prostrate prosperity; but you might have republican State government as a compensation. I ask you, is that what you want? If it is am sure the patriotic people of the country are not with you.

is I an auto the patriodic people of the country as A nature state of the patriodic people of the country.

Oh. Senators, it is time we should understand that in this Republic veganous every the cause of peace and order it with the present the government to violate it. Every lawless and of the second of the second of the weight of the country of the A LAWLESS EXECUTIVE AT WASHINGTON.

have been done in Louisiana in 1872 are now sustained by the republican majority in Congress. And, one evil deed always giving birth to another, it so nigh handed a course is continued, you are taking upon yourselves a responsibility the extent of which it is difficult to measure. Do not treat with contempt what is now going on in the public mind. Here I hold in my hand a republican paper which indulings in the following language: "Unless the republican party is content to be swept out of existence by the storm of indignant protest rising against the wrong of Louisiana from all portions of the country it will see that this most stameful outrage is redressed wholly and at once. For if it is right for the federal soldery to pack the Legislature of one State, in the manner Attorney General Williams declares it shall be packed, or if it can be done it is right and can be done in any other State. It is a matter that concerns Massachusetts, Calhornia and Pennsylvania equally with Louisiana for it is an act of referal usurpation which if not revoked and condemned by Congress will lead lacytably to the destruction of the whole labric of our government."

FORBEAENING HERGISM IN LOUISIANA.

What adds to the common indignation of the con-

by Congress will lead hereitably to the destruction of the whole labric of our government."

FORBEARING HEROISM IN LOUISIANA.

What adds to the common indignation of the country against the perpetrators of the wrong, is the moral heroism exhibited by the disfranchised people of Louisiana, who have corned with sublime patience and in peace that which was excuse suincicut for revolution; for the doctrine is as old as wrong itsel, that usurpation of the people's rights makes revolution not only a privilege but a duty. Since such seatiments, appealing directly to the right of revolution, are expressed by republican journals in the North, they are likely to be put both in still stronger language by the opposition journals in the South. The rising of such receining I cannot but look upon with apprehension, not as to the spirit of justice and freedom which they demonstrate, but as to the dreading consequences which they might produce it rassily acted upon; and if my voice could reach so lar as to be heard by the people of Louisianal would say to them, take good care not for a single moment to permit any impulse of passion to carry away your judgment. Whatever injustice you may have to suffer, let not a hand be lifted. Let no provocation of insolent power, nor any tempting opportunity seduce you into the least demonstration of violence. If you did, no human foresight can tell what advantage might be taken of any act of rashness—in what dangers it would involve you and the whole kepublic.

Be right, trust to the justice of your cause, for surely the time cannot be lar distant when every American who truly loves his liberty will not fail to recognize his own cause in the cause of constitutional government in Louisana. When that spirit of a peaceful victory will be so. Do not indulge in any defusions. Let none of you believe that the cry of murder and blood, or the new budget of atrocties in official reports, such as General Societaen promises, will divert the minds of the people from the real question at issue. That cry

minds of the people from the real question at issue. That cry and such reports begin to tall state upon the ears of the people; not as if the people had become hadderent as to wrong perpetrated in any part of the country upon any class of critizens, but because the people have lost their former condended in the sincerity and truthniness of those who parade the bloody stories with the greatest ostenation.

And why was that confidence lost? Because there were so many exaggerations discovered in the statements frequently made; because in many instances it became too glavingly apparent that the blood-murder cry was used as convenient parties of the people.

there were so many exaggerations discovered in the statements tre-quently made; because in many instances it became too glaringly apparent that the blood-murgor cry was used as convenient partisan stage thunder to caten votes. The people have berun shrewdly to suspect that when some men pretend they must remain in power to protect the lives of negroes the cry of murdered negroes must be raised to keep those men in power. There is another reason why this cry will be districted now.

The people are usking themselves, and well they may, whether the very poney which is professedly followed to prevent such outrages is not itself well calculated to serve as the cause of more. They look at Virginia, North Carolloa, Georgia, and find that the self-government of the people, unobstructed, is gradually but steadily advancing. Those States are in peace, order, prosperity. They look at Louisiana and find the self-government of the people of structed and near the reports of turmoil and conflict. They do not fail to conclude that the forcing of Bullock and Foster Hlodgest upon Georgia would have reduced that State to the same unhappy condition which in Louisiana the insurpation of Kellogg has brought forth. Looking at that picture and at this they begin wisely to make up their minds that the Southern States can give far better governments to themselves than any insulous interierence can impose upon them. But still more, the people begin to understand, and it is high time, indeed, they should understand, that the means professedly used to prevent and suppress outrages are producing worso trut than the outrages themselves; that

The Lawlessness of Power is growing lar more dankerous to all than the law-lessness of the mob. Therefore, I think Senators gravely deceive themselves it they believe the blood and murder cry can deceive the people about the nature of the fisgrant usurpation of Louisiana, Iswially expressed by the ballot. No intelligent man can have escaped the impression that the Keilogg party did carry the State of Lo

It has not been overlooked that when after the insurrection of the 14th of September arrangements were aftempted to divest the Returning Board in Louisians of its suspicious partisan character, the leading spirit of the Kellogg party strenuously objected to the admission of an equal number of republicans and conservatives with one man of unimperchable character to be chosen by them jointly to set as an impartial uniper in returning the votes. It has been well observed that the Returning Board, having purposely preserved its partisan character, when the election showed a considerable conservative manipulated the exturns for many weeks, until by hook or crook, they had transformed the conservative into a republican majority. It has not escaped public attention that the Attorney General of the United states, with ostentations publicity, declared his purpose to stand by the Returning Board whatever it might do, thus encouraging them holdly to go on, and that when the thing was done he declared himself for a "heroic" policy, whereugon the military usurpation followed.

thing was done as declared himself for a "nerole" policy. Whereugon the military usurpation lollowed.

The Congressional investigation.

In view of alt these circumstances and such other information as has come within my reach, I declare it here as my solemn convetion that he conservatives of Louisiana ald lairly carry the election by a considerable najority of votes; that they were deflauded by the Returning Board of the results of that election; that the solders of the United States, when they invaded the legislative half of Louisiana, did not undeate, but trampied under the foot of lawless force the free will of the people of Louisiana, lawfully expressed at the polls. That, sir, is my honest conviction, and, if current report speaks truly, the members of that Congressional Committee, who were sent down to Louisiana to make investigation, will, as they are honest and truthing members of the constraints and the country, as the result of conscientions investigation, that the conservatives of Louisiana did carry tonatelection; that the Returning Board did defraud them of R. and that the will of the people of Louisiana, lawfully expressed, was trampled under the heel of a lawless military invasion; that the conservatives of Louisiana and the American people will believe it as the honest truth told by honest men. No. Senators, do not deceive sourselves. No man will be permitted to obscure the grave constitutional question before us with any side issues, for frem whatever point of view you may contemplate it every consideration of law, of moral right, of justice, of the public policy and the common welfare, puts the deed done in Louisiana only in a stronger light as a lawless transgression of arbitrary power pregnant with wrong and disaster. We must lace it holdly. This, if ever, is the time when

successfully tries to make his generation believe that this could be rightfully done under the laws of the Republic. The lawyer's technical insensity has not seldom done more herm to free institutions than even the arbitrary spirit of the soldier, for the latter would frequently have been imporent without the aid of the former. It may be the lawyer's ambition successfully to defend even the most obvious guilt of his client, but it is his highest glory to stand learlossly before the frowns of power desending the sanctuy of the law and the rights and liberties of his countrymen—and of such are the names that are handed down with honor from generation to generation. I trust, therefore, we shall hear in this debate only the purest and foliciest spirit of jurisprudence among a people proud of their liberties. Let us, alove all, be spored such miserable subterings as that because the Speaker of the Legisla ure invited an officer of the army to persuade a disorderly crowd in the lobby to remain quiet he had thereby given him, or recognized his right to drag from their seats members of the legislative body; or that as the insurgents of September in New Orleans had not surrendered all the arms belonging to the State, the insurrection continued and with it the right of the federal army to organize the Legislature oi Louisiana. Let not so pittable a piea be heard where the fundamental principles of constitutional government are in leopardy. If there be an argument in defence, let at least be on a level with the dignity of the question. I have moved that the Judiciary Committee be instruced to report a bill to secure to the people, of Louisiana their right of self-government are in leopardy. If there be an argument in defence, let at least be on a level with the dignity of the question. I have moved that the Judiciary Committee be instruced to report a bill to secure to the people, of Louisiana their right of self-government are in leopardy. If there be an argument in defence, let at least be on a level with the dignity of

paints, and of United Stites dragoous to arrest opponents, and with that Returning Board which has given already so much evidence of its unscruptions skill.

Let it not be another mockery to end in another disgrace. I trust the committee will discover a method to undo the usurpations that have been perpetrated and to restore their rights and powers to those whom the people of Louisiana have lawring designated to wield them. No measure will avail either to the cause of peace and order or the safety of our institutions or the character of the government which does not boildy vindicate the constitutional privileges of legislative bodies and that self-government of the people without which our republican institutions cannot live, I have spoken earnestly, sir, for my feelings and convictions on this great subject are strong and sincere, I cannot lorget that this Republic, which it has cost so much strie and so much blood to establish and to preserve, stands in the world to prove to strugging mankind that the self-government of the people under wise laws is able to evolve all necessary remedies for existing evils without violating popular liberty and constitutional right. I cannot lorget that if we fail in solving this great problem this Republic will become.

NOT THE GUIDING STAR OF LIBERTY, but another warning example. I cannot close my eyes to the fact that the generation which has grown up the poblical activity during the war and since its close to nore than a third of our voting body has too much been accustomed to winess the bold display of arbitrary assumptions of authority, and that habits have grown up threatening to become destructive to all the patrict holds dear. Knowing this I have for years stood upon this floor raising my voice for the imperilled principles of constitutional government and endeavored to warn you of the insiduous advance of irresponsible power, and with all the auxiety of my beart, and may be my last opportunity upon this great forum, I cry on to you on the insiduous advance of irrespon

the people raiter and rail when the hiberties of the people are at stake.

FACIS EXPECTED TO VINDICATE THE ADMINISTRATION. Mr. MORTON, (rep.) of Ind., said he was as much in layor of local self-government as the Senator from Missouri. He was in favor of a government for the people, and by the people, and by that he meant all the people. In some of the Southern States the governments were not for the whole people, as black men were frequently deprived of their rights. It had been charged on this floor that the President has violated the constitution by his action in the New Orleans difficulty. That was a grave charge and should not be made without the strongest proof. He apprehended that when the information called for by the resolution of Friday last came to the Senate to-morrow, the Senator from Missouri would find himself in the attitude of the juror who had given his verdict before he heard the testimony. He (Mr. Morton) thought the statements of General Sherlian were short of the whole truth, and the evidence to be submitted by the President to-morrow would show that the outrages in Louisland and trauds were more garring than the statements of Secridan showed them to be. Mr. Morton hen sent to the Clerk's desk and had read the official report of General Sheridan, and said that officer, being upon the ground, knew more about adults there than the Senator from Missouri. He (Mr. Morton) argued that the onganization of the conservative Legislature on Monday last was urflawin, and tald that officer, being a fraud; and whoever undertook to defend the action of the conservative Rejention of several last there was murder and lawless-ness prevailing in that State constantly. Referring to other Southern States he said:—When an election was held in Georgia in the spring of 1888, under General Meade, the republicans carried the State by about 10,000 majority, thus showing a difference of 25,000 over between the spring election and that of the following November. The November majority was the result of intimidation.

difference of 25.000 votes between the spring election and that of the following November. The November majority was the result of intimidation.

Mr. Gordon, (dem.) of Ga., inquiried of the Senator what the majority was in the State of New York before the last election, and what the majority was at the last election.

Mr. Morron said he did not propose to be interrupted now. The Senator would have an opportunity to state all these things after a while. Continuing his argument, he said, it was shameful to talk about the carpet baggers. Most of them had been soldiers who carried the flag of their country in the late war. They were pleased with the South and settled there after the war and were denounced for that. He had no objection to the colored men dividing their vote, but it was most unnatural to suppose they were going to vote for the men who formerly owned them as slaves.

Mr. Howe, (rep.) of Wis., obtained the floor to speak upon the resolution of Senator Schurz, but at four o'clock yielded for a motion for an executive session, which was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. At hair-past four o'clock tae doors were reopened and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11, 1875. Under the call of States many bills were introduced and referred, including the following:-By Mr. KELLOGG, (rep.) of Conn.—To fix the salaries of judges of the Court of Claims at \$6,000; also to amend the National Currency act.

By Mr. E. H. Roberts, (rep.) of N. Y.—To refund

certain taxes collected from savings banks in 1876

on their earnings.

By Mr. Scudden, (rep.) of N. J.—Authorizing tunnets between New York and Jersey City and be ween New York and Brooklyn.

By. Mr. Topp, (rep.) of Pa.—To extend for one

year the time to bring suits for the recovery of internal taxes illegally collected. By Mr. ABCHER, (dem.) of Md .- Appropriating \$8,000 for manusacturing and testing a suomarine gun invented by Admiral Porter.

By Mr. VANCE, (dem.) of N. C .- For pensions to soldiers of the Mexican war who served in the Consederate army. Also in aid of the New River

vestigation—Charles Abert, who declined to an awer certain questions on the plea of privileged communication between attorney and clieat. He offered resolutions for the arrest of Mr. Abert and bringing him to the bar of the House for con-tempt.

bringing him to the our of the house for con-tempt.

The resolution was agreed to, and Mr. Abert was almost immediately brought into the House in castody of the Sergeautatearms, and the Speaker asked him whether he was ready to answer the questions of the committee.

Ar. Abert replied as follows:—

"In the course which I have pursued I did not intend or desire to place myself in nontempt. I simply desired that, as to the question which I hesitated to answer and hesitated solely in conse-quence of the position in which my client has placed me, I might have the order of the House. On receiving an order of the House that I shall answer the questions, I am ready to answer."

The joil owing was then put to Mr. Abort by the The following was then put to Mr. Abert by the

Speaker:

"Will you state to the committee the names, the persons to whom you distributed \$103,500 of the money belonging to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at the direction of Mr. Irwin; also the name of the person who introduced these persons to you?"

name of the person who introduced those persons to you?"

Mr. ABERT—I will on being so ordered by the House.

Mr. Abert was then taken before the Committee on Ways and Means.

More Besolutions on Louisiana.

Mr. Cox. (dem.) of N. Y., offered the following resolution in reference to affairs in Louisiana, which was read and referred to the Judiciary Committee:

Mittee:—
Whereas, on the 4th of January inst., officers and soldiers of the army of the United states have interfered with and controlled the organization of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, and certain persons branch the roof have been prowith and controlled the organization of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, and certain persons claiming seats in one branch thereof have been prevented from holding the same by such military force, which acts of military intervention and control resulted in dispersing the State Legislature, and have received the sauction and ratification of the Chief Executive of the United States; therefore,

Resolved, That in the deliberate judament of this House, such intervention and control were in violation of the rederal constitution, massinen as said force was not used for the purpose defined by law, and could not legally be as a superior of the control were in violation of the rederal constitution of each as a said to the said intervention and control were in violation of the rederal constitution of each as a said to the said intervention of each as a said to the said intervention of each as a said to the said intervention of the said intervention of the said intervention and control are defiant and insolent breaches of partiamentary privileges and lingual and revolutionary infractions of local government, chartered liber y and solemin trenty obligations, and therefore are not only unjustifiable outrages upon the State of Louisiana, but a meanes of metallic privileges and singuity of every other State, tending to general denoralization and disorder by the overthrew of civil liber y by arbitrary power, we, therefore, in the name of the people of the United States in the said the condition of the said state, by the immediate writing and distribution of the said the condition.

ments. Referred to the Committeee on Ways and Means.

Section I provides that on November 1+1875, and for five months thereafter, any person may present at the sub-freasury United states legal tender notes in sums of \$50 or any multiple thereof for exchange for gold and receive gold in exchange at the rate of \$90 for \$100 in access and for each period of four months thereafter the rate shall be successively advanced one per cent in gold until Ju v 1, 1875, and on and after January 1, 1879, exchanged at par.

Section 2 provides for presenting gold at the Treasury so be exchanged for notes at a rate one per cent less than exchanged for notes at a rate one per ce

CONSULAR AND DIPLOMATIC BILL.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Corwin, of Chio, in the Chair, on the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation bill.

The bill appropriates \$1,344,755. There was nothing of interest in the discussion. The bill was reported to the House and passed.

Mr. Garfield, (rep.) of Ohlo, from the Committee on Ways and Means, reported a bill appropriating \$25,000 to derray the expenses of entertaining the King of the Hawaiian Islands. Pending the vote upon it toe House, at thirty-ave minutes past three P. M., on motion of Mr. Butler, of Massaconusetts, adjourned.

MUNICIPAL NOTES.

The Mayor's office was overrun with visitors yesterday. The most prominent was Grand Sachem John Kelly. His appearance in the vestibule gave rise to considerable gossip among the pol iticians who were lottering about in the loobies It seems, however, that the visit was a mere friendly call, as after a pleasant chat between bim and the Mayor about matters and things in him and the Mayor about matters and things in general, and the improvements made in the Mayoral temple especially, during which not a word was said good, bad or indifferent about politics, Mr. Kelly quierly left the Hall. The croakers who have been for a week talking so glibly about a dead-lock between the Grand Sachem and the Mayor, it is probable will now croak no longer. James Hayes, who is said to be one of the new Fire Commissioners that are certain to succeed the present Commissioners; John Morrissey, Chamberlain Lane Commissioner Batley and Judge Spencer, also called upon the Mayor.

The Fire Commissioners handed in their answer to the charges made against them by the Commissioners of Accounts yesterday niternoon. The document is quite voluminous, the arguments at prove their innocence covering over forty pages of legal cap. The Mayor states that he has not yet oven read the charges made against the Commissioners; but that he will give them and the answer all the attention they require as soon as possible.

Corporation Counsel Smith's answer to the

answer all the attention they require as soon as possible.

Corporation Counsel Smith's answer to the charges preferred against him will be completed and sent to the Mayor to-morrow attendoon. It is believed that Mr. Smith will send in his resignation asso. This, however, is mere rumor.

The Aldermanic Committee on Salaries have not decided those Saerid transportation rate matters. Another couple was made harpy at the Mayor's office yesterday.

Joel Stevens, the new Marshal, is drawing up a set of regulations which, if adopted, will make the hackmen a little more obliging and useful to the travelling public.

The twenty firemen who want their ten days' pay due them before they were dismissed to please the salary brokers, say that the Comptroller con-cedes that the mon-y is ready for them, but that they will have to bring a sun for it before they can get a cent.

LARGE CUSTOMS SEIZURES.

The smuggling of dresses, &c., from Paris, for New York belies, still goes on; but the owners. who have them brought over in European steam ers by feeing the employes run the risks of occasional confiscation at the hands of Uncie Sam's Custom House officials. News by cable and letter Custom House officials. News by cable and letter is frequently sent here from members of the United States secret service acroad, informing their associates of vessels leaving England, Franca, Germany and Cuba, earrying goods which appear to be shipped with the intention of defrauding this government. Being thus apprized in advance, customs officers McCort, Hagin and Noe, on the recent strival of the steamer idaho, commenced rummaging the vessel, and captured seven cases of valuable goods, containing principally wearing apparet, and worth a large amount of money. They have not yet been appraised in the seizure room of the Custom House, where they now are. One case contained two superb bail dresses, valued at \$500 each, and in their loids were three dozen pairs of kid gloves. Some of the goods were found in the purser's room, and he had, as one of the goods seized were sitk umorelias, artificial flowers, velvets and other atticles for dress. The glover and dresses bore the inscription of "Mrs. —, No. 47 Wall street." In addition to this, six very bandsome cornets, with sliver mounting, addresses the the leader of a band at Boston, Mass., were capsome cornets, with silver mounting, addressed to the leader of a band at Boston. Mass, were cap-tured. It is reported that a claimant has appeared for the dresses and that some interesting develop-ments and pernaps some arrests may take place to-day.

NEW JERSEY'S NEW GOVERNOR